

Property of the Library  
of the South  
**FOREIGN POLICY  
BULLETIN**

*An interpretation of current international events  
by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association*



Univ. of the South  
The Library  
Sewanee, Tenn.

LS-1

1918-1948

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION • INCORPORATED • 22 EAST 38TH STREET • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

VOL. XXVII NO. 41

SEPTEMBER 3, 1948

## **Church Leaders Urge Dynamic Answer To Communism**

While the Western powers, in the light of their three-year experience of negotiations with the Soviet government, are asking themselves whether agreement can be reached with Russia and, if reached, will be kept, spokesmen for various religious bodies have been discussing the moral problems raised by Communist theory and practice. Protestants and Catholics, no matter how much they may differ on other issues, agree that communism is a menace, but that this menace must be checked not by force, but by determined efforts to correct social injustices that foster discontent and unrest and create a climate favorable to political extremism.

### **Dulles for Social Action**

An important step toward religious unity was taken at Amsterdam on August 23, when the World Council of Churches, representing all the major Christian denominations except the Roman Catholics and the Russian Orthodox Church, was officially constituted after years of effort by 450 religious leaders representing 150 Protestant and Orthodox church bodies in forty-two countries. Addressing this Council on August 24 John Foster Dulles, foreign policy adviser to Governor Dewey and one of the principal architects of bipartisanism in foreign affairs, declared that "Marxian communism is atheistic and materialistic," and that "while some good things have been done for the proletariat, both theory and practice involve coercing, terrorizing and liquidating those whose reason and conscience compel them to reject the order sought to be imposed." Mr. Dulles said that "there are some similarities

ties between the social and economic ends that Communists profess and those that Christians seek." The methods taught, however, "are utterly dissimilar and the present methods of communism are incompatible with peaceful change." Communist leadership, he went on, is dynamic, and communism has world-wide ambitions. "That, of itself, makes it impossible to create at once a universal organization of peace through law, and it confronts those who seek peace with a difficult problem."

This problem, in Mr. Dulles' opinion, cannot be solved either by abandonment of those faiths that clash with communism, or by trying to crush communism with force. His prescription—assuming, as he does, that the non-Russian world has "a little time" at its disposal—is for those who have faith "to translate their faith into works," and for those who believe in moral law and human dignity to be "more concerned to make social institutions reflect those ideals."

### **Lambeth Reports**

Similar views are expressed in the various documents published on August 17 following the deliberations in London, from July 5 to August 8, of the Lambeth conference attended by 329 out of the 430 Bishops of the world-wide Anglican Communion who assembled for the first time in eighteen years. One of the documents described communism as "perhaps the one live alternative to the Christian interpretation of man," and stated: "Between the two there can be no compromise, and it seems to be increasingly probable that it is between these two that the

world must choose. Neutral positions may not long be tenable. No presentation of the Christian world-view can command the assent of the rising generation unless it has squarely come to grips with the dogmas of dialectical materialism." It declared that it is the duty of the church to oppose communism by "sound teaching and the example of a better way," but took the view that not all anti-Communist forces are good forces, and that a policy of making common cause indiscriminately with all anti-Communist groups "would prove in the end to be disastrous to the Church both in the East and in the West." While the Lambeth conference urged general reduction and control of armaments of every kind and their elimination, except for those needed for police protection, it recognized "that there are occasions when both nations and individuals are obliged to resort to war as the lesser of two evils."

For the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Pius XII has repeatedly condemned Russia and communism, has expressed growing fear that a clash between the West and Russia would prove inevitable, yet at the same time has stressed the need for social reforms as a fundamental need of modern times. In his address of June 2 to a group of cardinals, for example, the Pope said: "But the reconquest of so many wayward and embittered hearts, who have lost the true concepts and sound ideas about the world and God and themselves, will depend essentially on the earnestness, loyalty, energy and fairness which all men of right principle will bring to the solution of the fundamental problems grow-

*Contents of this BULLETIN may be reproduced with credit to the Foreign Policy Association*

ing out of the ruin and revolution of the war and its aftermath. As everybody knows, at the heart of these issues and controlling them entirely, lie the just and necessary social reforms, and particularly the urgent need to provide the poorer classes with housing, bread and work."

### ***Challenge from the East***

Even on the religious plane, however, the conflict between East and West has emerged into the open. At the World Council of Churches, speaking on the same day as Mr. Dulles, a distinguished Czech theologian, Dr. Joseph L. Hromadka, John Huss Professor of Theology at Prague University, urged the West to recognize the rise of "the new barbarians," and declared that we are witnessing "the end of Western supremacy within the realm of international order." He deplored what he described as the official Western policy of inclining to rely "on these elements and groups within what we call the Eastern orbit which are politically dead or moribund and which lack any capacity to be creative architects of the future." During the war Professor Hromadka became widely known for his opposition to the Nazis, and took refuge in the United States, where he taught at the Princeton Theological Seminary. Those who knew him in this country believe that the views he expresses have been reached through honest convictions, but some have raised the question whether his attitude may not be affected by the prevailing Czech ten-

deney to make the best of an existing situation.

Professor Hromadka had already set forth his personal attitude toward the Communist coup of February 1948 in an article, "Between Yesterday and Tomorrow," published in the May 24 issue of *Christianity and Crisis*. In this article he contended that the liberal bourgeoisie is "at the end of its historical mission." He wrote: "If you interpret the Czechoslovak crisis merely as Soviet expansion or a Communistic machination, ignoring the other side of the picture, namely the political helplessness and the lack of a constructive program on the part of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, you can hardly grasp the meaning of what happened in February." In his opinion, "the anti-communistic groups were politically and morally incapable of coping with the situation" created in and for Czechoslovakia by the mounting tension between East and West. He firmly denies the validity of analogies between nazism and communism, and therefore does not believe that the remedies offered for the former will prove efficacious in the case of the latter. Moreover, he does not believe that "the anti-communistic mood now prevalent in Western countries is capable of understanding the real issue of the present times." He concludes: "Our faith and Christianity will—humanly speaking—prevail only under two conditions: (1) that they carry their witness without trying to be a reservoir and stronghold of the old social and economic order, and

(2) that they are really based on the realities of the prophetic and apostolic message and know what the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Incarnate Word of God are." At the Amsterdam Council Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman of the editorial board of *Christianity and Crisis*, described communism on August 28 as a "Christian heresy," and informed the press that at a closed section meeting "general agreement was reached that communism expresses the discontent of vast masses of insecure people and that churches everywhere must recognize their involvement in the injustices and insecurities that communism seeks or promises to cure."

### ***Debate in Breslau***

At the other end of Europe, in the former German city of Breslau now in Polish territory and renamed Wroclaw, a World Congress of Intellectuals summoned on a joint invitation of Polish and French intellectuals heard a violent debate between spokesmen for East and West. Two Russian writers, Alexander Fadeyev and Ilya Ehrenburg, accused the United States of "warmongering" and of attempts to impose its domination, and bitterly denounced the "decay" of American culture. Speaking for the West, Professor Allan Taylor of Oxford University and O. John Rogge, former United States Assistant Attorney General, vigorously criticized the statements of the Russian delegates and their European supporters, and unequivocally expressed opposition to all forms of authoritarianism.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

## ***Antarctic Claims Raise Colonial Issue In Americas***

On September 1, a new inter-American committee was to have come into existence at Havana, charged by the American Republics with the ambitious task of eliminating colonialism and foreign colonies in the Americas. But opposition of the United States to the project has thus far operated to postpone the creation of the committee, and may in the end quietly bury it. The prospective Havana Committee symbolized the growth of Latin American resentments against colonialism in all its forms which came to a head in the Belize and Antarctic disputes early this year. In Latin America any issue with a colonial angle, or to which a colonial angle can be imparted, is inflammatory. This anticolonial sentiment explains why its representatives at the Bogotá conference voted to expand discussion of local

Guatemalan claims in British Honduras, and Chilean and Argentine claims in the South Polar regions, into a wholesale investigation of the "status of dependency" in the Americas—"whatever its form, political, economic or juridical." The United States has been reluctant to engage in such a discussion. Not wishing, however, to remain aloof from the Antarctic controversy, this country has meanwhile attempted to find an acceptable formula for international control of the South Polar regions.

### ***Antarctic Flag-waving***

The Antarctic controversy centers on the claims of Britain, Argentina and Chile, respectively, to sovereignty over portions of the bleak, partially ice-bound region which is labeled Falkland Islands De-

pendencies on British maps. In Argentina's case, the problem is a direct extension of that nation's long-standing claim to the Falkland Islands themselves, which in Argentina are called the Malvinas. If Argentina's historical rights to the Falklands, occupied by the British in 1833, were recognized, then, in the Argentine view, the Dependencies should also come within its sovereignty. Since 1904 Argentina has maintained a meteorological station there and an Argentine whaling company located in South Georgia has long operated in those waters. Chile's claim, which partly overlaps that of Argentina, is perhaps less well grounded in geography, but has the advantage of frequent assertion. It is traced by Chileans back to 1540, when the Spanish adventurer, Sancho de la Hoz, resigned the "Government of Ant-

arctica" he exercised for the Spanish crown in favor of Pedro de Valdivia, the Captain-General of Chile. Perhaps it was not by coincidence that exactly four centuries later the late President Pedro Aguirre Cerda decreed that the limits of "Chilean Antarctica" were constituted by the meridians of 53° W. and 90° W. of Greenwich. Only 600 miles separate the Chilean "Horn" from the northernmost Antarctic islands, and sealing boats or whalers carrying the Chilean flag have frequented the stormy waters since the end of the last century. But so, too, did vessels of other nationalities, and it was partly in an attempt to prevent the extermination of the fur seals that the British government in 1908 claimed sovereignty, on the basis of its role in opening up the region, and established the administration of the Falkland Island Dependencies at Port Stanley in the Falklands.

Formal reiteration of the Argentine and Chilean claims has been accompanied since 1947 by more active measures, including the establishment of military bases in the South Shetlands. These measures in turn have inspired strongly worded complaints of trespass from the British Foreign Office. Perón's Antarctic policy now goes beyond routine protests against British presence in the Falklands; it is woven into the larger design of ridding Argentine soil of all foreign controls. Yet Argentina's attitude has been less provocative than that of Chile. Last February Chilean President Gabriel González took time from pressing problems at home—where his administration had been given emergency powers to deal with the Communist problem—to tour the South Shetlands and, in defiance of British protests, announce the formal "annexation" of the area Chile claims. Both countries have rejected the British offer to submit the dispute for arbitration to the International Court of Justice, but have stated their readiness to discuss it at an international conference convened especially for that purpose.

## Caribbean Colonies

When Chile brought up the Monroe Doctrine in connection with the Antarctic dispute, it made that controversy a sub-

ject for discussion at the Bogotá conference. Chile and Argentina insist that the contested area lies within the American security zone mapped at the 1947 Rio de Janeiro conference, when the treaty of mutual defense was drawn up. Thus, in the view President González expounded on February 18, any act of aggression in that area on the part of "archaic European imperialism" should be considered as directed against all the nations of America. Although this view was not shared by the United States, it coincided with Guatemala's stand on the nature of its dispute with Britain over Belize, or the crown colony of British Honduras. This question is another hardy perennial which expanded to serious proportions last February when the British government ordered two cruisers to the crown colony to fend off a possible invasion attempt by "irresponsible elements" in Guatemala. The Arévalo government of Guatemala also opposes the submission of this question to the World Court, apparently desiring a political settlement in preference to a juridical one.

At Bogotá, these countries found the current of Latin American opinion running strongly in their favor. The Venezuelan delegate, former President Betancourt, reminded those assembled in the Colombian capital that the wide arc of colonies stretching from the Guianas on the northeastern coast of South America through the Dutch, French, British possessions and the lone American colony of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean over to British Honduras on the Central American mainland represented a situation which is incompatible with the New World system. The resolution finally drawn up reflected this view. It proposed the creation of an American Committee on Dependent Territories whose function would be to "study the situation of the colonies, possessions and occupied territories existing in America . . . with a view to seeking pacific means of eliminating both colonialism and the occupation of American territories by extra-continental powers."

The United States was thus placed in a delicate position. In this critical period it had no wish to raise with its Western European friends what must appear, from

their point of view, an extraneous issue. As a colonial power itself, moreover, the United States could not engage in such a broad discussion without incurring the risk of compromising policy in its dependent territories. This country, therefore, did not encourage the Bogotá discussion, abstained from voting on the resolution, and may not name a representative to the Havana committee.

Even if the proposed committee is an appropriate agency, it is extremely doubtful whether the legal tangles of the Belize and Antarctic controversies could be settled in the political atmosphere of a full-dress inter-American conference on colonialism. If Guatemala, Argentina and Chile are genuinely concerned to obtain a workable settlement of their cases, there is machinery available for this purpose. Britain's attitude, on the other hand, might be much more conducive to a practical settlement than it is now, as some of its own observers in the area admit. The United States indicated a possible way out of the Antarctic dispute, at least, when it announced on August 28 that it had informally proposed to the seven Antarctic nations (which also include Australia, New Zealand, France and Norway) that "some form of internationalization" be adopted for the South Polar region.

OLIVE HOLMES

*Total Power: A Footnote to History*, by Edmund Walsh, S. J. New York, Doubleday, 1948. \$5.00

Father Walsh tells the story of Hans Haushofer, German philosopher of geopolitics, and the Nazi struggle for total power. He compares Nazi with Russian geopoliticians and concludes that the Russians have been more efficient.

*Case History of Japan*, by Francis J. Horner. New York, Sheed and Ward, 1948. \$3.00

A psychological study of the Japanese with interesting accounts of their racial, religious, and political background. The author also discusses the present-day problems of Japan and suggests solutions.

*Postwar Germans: An Anthropologist's Account*, by David Rodnick, New Haven, Yale University, 1948. \$3.75

An intensive study of German Protestant culture in the areas north of Frankfurt-on-Main covering a cross section of the population represented by workers, peasants, middle class, aristocrats and wealthy businessmen. This is an unbiased and objective preliminary report prepared as part of the work of the Information Control Division of the Office of Military Government.

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. Vol. XXVII, No. 41, SEPTEMBER 3, 1948. Published weekly from September through May inclusive and biweekly during June, July and August by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. BROOKS EMENY, President; HELEN M. DAGGETT, Secretary; VERA MICHELES DEAN, Editor. Re-entered as second-class matter June 4, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Four Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Six Dollars a Year.

Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.



### Fall Council Meeting

Representatives of community Foreign Policy Associations and affiliated Councils on World Affairs will attend the fall Council meeting in New York on September 17 and 18. Delegates will have an opportunity to confer with each other and with the FPA staff members about problems of community organization. Plans made at this meeting, the exchange of experience among directors of community activities, and the pooling of information on techniques and methods of organization should contribute effectively to the expanding national program of community education in world affairs.

At present the agenda for the meeting includes a number of items on community organization, such as recruitment of working committees, techniques of administration, participation in the national program at a community level, effective use of publications in educational work, and means of establishing sound financial support.

The two days of the Council meeting will be divided into three working sessions: Friday morning, Friday afternoon, and Saturday morning. The Friday morning session is planned as a workshop for executive directors and secretaries. The plenary session Friday afternoon will be devoted to the techniques of community education programs and the use of research publications, and the Saturday morning work session will be built around problems of membership and finances. Representatives of the Branches and Affiliates will be guests of the FPA at luncheon on Friday at National Headquarters.

On Friday evening there will be an off-the-record discussion of the progress of the Hoover Commission on Organization of the executive branch of the government with special reference to the Department of State. Mr. James Grafton Rogers, a member of the FPA Board of Directors and of the Commission; Mr. Harvey Bundy, a member of the Commission and former chairman of the Boston Branch of the Foreign Policy Association; and Mr. John F. Meck, Jr., who is in charge of the reorganization of the Federal agencies dealing with foreign affairs, will be present to lead the discussion.

Representatives have been invited from the thirty Branches of the FPA, the

Cleveland Council on World Affairs, the Council on World Affairs of Northern California, the Council on World Affairs of Greater Kansas City, the North Shore Foreign Policy Affiliate of Lynn, Massachusetts, the World Affairs Council of Rhode Island, and the Los Angeles Foreign Policy Council. In addition invitations for representation have been extended to the Chicago Council on World Relations, the International Center of Akron, the Dayton Council on World Affairs, the Dutchess County Council on World Affairs in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and the Washington World Affairs Center.

### Tea for YWCA

The Foreign Policy Association staff will be host to representatives of the YWCA International Study Conference on Women and World Reconstruction at a tea on September 2 in the National Headquarters lounge. The conference brings together outstanding YWCA leaders from twenty-seven countries for discussion and leadership training and is made possible by the Round-the-World YWCA Reconstruction Fund. The conference is being held at Teachers College, Columbia University from August 18 through September 14 under the sponsorship of the National Board of the YWCA.

### New Assignment for Mr. Lewis

Brackett Lewis has been appointed Executive Director at National Headquarters, with responsibility for internal administration, membership promotion and income production.

### Rosinger Joins American IPR

On September 1 Lawrence K. Rosinger joined the staff of the American Institute of Pacific Relations as research associate, where he will also serve as associate editor of the *Far Eastern Survey* and be in charge of the preparation of a new *Annual Survey of America and the Far East*.

### Appointment of Mr. Riggs

The Foreign Policy Association takes pleasure in announcing the appointment to the research staff of Fred W. Riggs. Mr. Riggs was born in China, and received his early schooling in that country, including one year at the University of Nanking, 1934-35. He completed his A.B. at the University of Illinois, and received his Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1948.

On August 22 the Polish Communist party declared that nationalism is "a vice," in an obvious slap at Marshal Tito, and that the timetable for socialization had been speeded up. It is reported, however, that Hilary Minc, Communist Minister of Industry, is opposed to immediate collectivization of agriculture—one of the key issues also in Yugoslavia—and believes the operation of farms and the distribution of farm products should be left, for the time being, in the hands of co-operatives.

... Before its fall on August 27, the French government of Premier André Marie urged the convening of a Western European Assembly as an aftermath of The Hague conference. The British government of Mr. Attlee, however, favors postponement until it has had the opportunity to consult the Prime Ministers of the British Dominions, who are scheduled to meet in London in October. In the past the British Dominions have been reluctant to see Britain accept advance commitments to nations on the European continent. ... From Washington the United States Department of Agriculture announced on August 18 that the food situation in Europe had greatly improved as a result of crops which may prove to be some of the best during or since the war. Europe, exclusive of the Soviet Union where a good wheat crop has also been predicted, is expected to garner a grain harvest totaling 1,450,000,000 bushels, compared to the 1,015,000,000 harvested in 1947. The prewar average for Europe exclusive of Russia was 1,588,000,00 bushels. ... A Greater Colombian Economic and Customs Union is projected in the Charter of Quito to which the governments of Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and Panama affixed signatures on August 9. A merger of the economies of these four countries will require numerous sacrifices and many years to become effective, according to spokesmen of the four countries, who acknowledge their debt to Benelux experience.

Mr. Riggs has had considerable experience in teaching, and in 1947 taught courses on American government, world politics, and the U.S.S.R. at City College, in New York. His main assignment in the Foreign Policy Association will be to cover topics in the fields of European affairs and international organization.